Not everyone practices the dulot in Catiougan or in 243
the other barrios in the Siaton River valley. Some in- 184
formants reported that the present owners or tenants of a 183
field are not required to hold a dulot if the previous cultivators did not practice this custom. These individuals held no dulot because their "elders did not" or "our field is not accustomed to it." Most barriofolk, however, explained that once a dulot is held, they and future cultivators (be they tenants or owners) are obligated to continue the practice--the ideal but not the actual practice.

Explaining the dulot as a pre-harvest ceremony is 243
incomplete. Many barriofolk believe fresh corn should not 784
be sold or given to friends until the dulot is held. It is possible, however, for the cultivator and his family to eat fresh corn at home, and to serve guests, prior to the dulot. While traveling among the barrios along the Siaton River my assistant sometimes requested fresh corn from his friends. Several times he was refused because the dulot had not been held. Once, however, he was given fresh corn by a relative before his dulot had been performed.

The dulot ceremony is a food offering in the corn 243
field, although some say it may be held in the house. 782
What often happens is that the offering is made to the spirits in the field and a religious ceremony follows at the family altar for the deceased. This was done during one dulot I observed. The dulot is always held at night; the food is placed on a table in the field as for the

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

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[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resisnce. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

near the vicinity of these springs always run the danger of unintentionally or accidentally annoying kolisaos and kataos. Dulots held in this locality include invitations to these creatures to partake in the food offering. Kolisaos and kataos are invited to attend dulots only when fields are near their supposed places of habitation. More barriofolk in this part of southwestern Barrio Caticugan practice the dulot than their neighbors whose fields are some distance from the springs. Most likely, therefore, the greater retention of the dulot by farmers with fields near these hillside springs has been due to their beliefs in kolisaos and kataos. 243 184

While the ideal pattern requires that a dulot once started should not be abandoned (excluding the exceptions noted) the actual practice is not the same. The dulot is slowly disappearing in Caticugan. The story of how one family in Naga stopped their dulot illustrates the decline of this custom. The sentences in () are questions I asked during the conversation. 243 178 184

> We [husband speaking] stopped our dulot. I was afraid I might make a mistake. What I did was to promise that every first corn harvest I'll sell a little corn, buy some candles, and light them in the church in honor of my dead parents.
>
> When I abandoned my dulot I went around the field saying: 'I am going to stop the dulot because I am ashamed and because I might make mistakes and because it is hard to get all the things needed. The land next to mine is continuing the dulot. You [the unseen spirits] just go there and eat if you want. They will make many sevens, more than five sevens. [This is a reference to the food offering.]

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

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as well-known. This situation underlines a distinct difference between the dulot as practiced in these two localities.

The people in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley expect guests to attend their dulots; in fact, there is a certain competition in attracting neighbors to one's dulot. No secrecy is involved. In Caticugan the dulot is a confidential family affair. Neighbors and friends are not invited. Usually they are not told when a dulot is to be held. Often the wife and children of the man holding the dulot do not go to the field or participate in the ceremonies.

Several factors explain the slow disappearance and secrecy of the dulot in Caticugan compared with the more isolated barrios. The changes that have occurred in the dulot reflect similar changes in other aspects of the culture of the barriofolk of Caticugan. The northern barrios continue the older cultural patterns while Caticugan is nearer the battleline of acculturation which is more rapid in the poblacion.

This has been true for several centuries. The Spaniards are more vividly remembered in Caticugan than in Casala-an. The influence of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the poblacion is more effective in Caticugan. It is more convenient for the Caticugan barriofolk to attend services and easier for the church officials to reach their barrio. Occasional missions of the Catholic church, where visiting priests come to marry those who have

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family. 243 178 184

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent. 243 178 369 203 872 184 [212]

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason. 243 178 369 554 184

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and kataos. 243 178 184

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism. 571 178 181 184 [476]

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An 184 178 243 433

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and kataos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

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Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga nonocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

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Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

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[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cebo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in ~~a~~hang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.